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PORTUGUESE DICTATORSHIP

by

F. Yorick Blumenfeld

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RICHARD M. BOECKEL, *Editor*

BUEL W. PATCH, *Associate Editor*

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PORTUGUESE DICTATORSHIP

ANTI-COLONIALIST RIOTS in Portugal's African territory of Angola, inspired by hijacking of the cruise ship *Santa Maria*, were followed within a few weeks by the presentation in Lisbon of a manifesto calling for orderly dismantling of the dictatorial regime that has ruled Portugal for more than three decades. The manifesto, signed by 160 leading citizens, asked "restoration to the Portuguese of fundamental liberties," release of all political prisoners, "immediate abolition of censorship," and permission for opposition political parties to enter candidates in next November's elections for the National Assembly.

Seizure of the *Santa Maria* in West Indian waters on Jan. 22 by a band of armed dissidents set in motion the chain of events that has directed world-wide attention to the opposition among Portuguese to the authoritarian government of Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. Capt. Henrique M. Galvao, leader of the men who took the ship in charge, declared just before the vessel was finally turned over to the Brazilian navy: "We . . . prove[d] that Dictator Salazar is not invulnerable. . . . We ridiculed him and his navy before the entire free and Christian world."

Galvao surrendered the *Santa Maria* at Recife, Brazil, on Feb. 3. The following day, rioting broke out in Angola's capital of Luanda and continued until Feb. 10, taking the lives of about half a hundred Portuguese and African natives. The situation there was brought before the United Nations, Feb. 21, when Liberia asked action by the Security Council "to prevent further deterioration and abuse of human rights and privileges" in that part of Africa.¹ While the rioting in Angola was in progress, a group of professional men led by Arlindo Vicente, Acacio Gouveia, and Azevedo Gomes obtained publicity in the Lisbon press for a long bill of particulars in support of charges that the

¹ The Liberian request, which attracted the immediate support of the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, has been scheduled for debate in the Security Council on March 10.

Salazar government was repressive and that "fear governs social relations within the nation." The group asserted, Feb. 8, that the *Santa Maria* episode "reinforced the need" to make democratic changes in the government.² The subsequent manifesto of Feb. 27 gave full support to the charges and demands that had been put forward earlier in the month.

GROUPS IN OPPOSITION TO THE SALAZAR REGIME

Active opposition to Salazar is shared by half a dozen groups, the most flamboyant of which is led by Gen. Um-berto Delgado and Capt. Galvao, both now in exile in Brazil. Galvao, outlining his program for Portugal, said on Feb. 2:

It is not only the fall of Salazar that most interests us. We seek a revolutionary objective: the reconstruction of Portuguese society on new bases. Our propositions will be: land for those who work it and a house for those who live in it. We will liquidate large landed estates as we will liquidate stagnant speculation. We will destroy implacably privileges of the Portuguese plutocracy [which] from birth divides men into rich and poor.

Galvao had written in the *Nation* in January 1960 that "Salazar's totalitarian oligarchy occupies the country by force just like a foreign invader." He declared that the Portuguese dictatorship was characterized by a "sterilizing censorship . . . entrancing propaganda . . . a labyrinth of special laws and judges, alongside rampant administrative and social corruption." He asserted that the country had only one physician for every 1,400 people, that 20 per cent of the population suffered from malnutrition, that almost 40 per cent were illiterate, and that less than 6 per cent of the Portuguese budget was spent on maintenance or improvement of the public health whereas 32 per cent was devoted to military purposes.

Galvao, 66 years old, is not regarded by the Portuguese as an appealing alternative to Salazar. Although admired as a novelist, playwright and soldier of fortune, he is considered an extremist. Gen. Delgado, a former air force officer, is looked on as more moderate but is said to lack the attributes of a true political leader.

Delgado ran in the spring of 1958 as an independent candidate for President of Portugal. His platform called for freedom of expression and association, an end to arbi-

² The government was believed to have allowed the state-controlled press to publish the charges in hope that its show of liberality would help to alter the general belief that Portugal is ruled by a dictatorship.

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trary arrests, release of political prisoners,³ and free general elections under universal suffrage. He protested a week before the election that the government was arresting members of his campaign committee, that the police were making raids on his Lisbon headquarters, that he was barred from using the radio, and that he was being shadowed by the secret police.

Rear Adm. Americo Tomas, the government's candidate for President, was elected without difficulty on June 9, but Delgado polled an extraordinary 23.5 per cent of the vote. Many persons believed that he would have won if the balloting had been free from interference. In any case, Salazar's displeasure forced Delgado to seek political asylum in the Brazilian embassy at Lisbon. In April 1959 he was granted safe passage out of the country and found refuge in Brazil.

In addition to the underground Communist Party of Portugal, which is said to have close to 10,000 disciplined members, there are many other groups which oppose the regime. Catholics of a liberal persuasion fear that Salazar's policies will alienate the masses of the people from the Church. Lino Netto, a member of the Catholic Information Center, published a pamphlet in December 1958 calling on the Catholic Church to dissociate itself from the "anti-Christian" regime of Salazar. Bishop Antonio Ferreira Gomes of Oporto was banished from the country after asserting in 1959 that the Portuguese state was "in reality the means of despoiling the Portuguese worker."

The liberal opposition, consisting of the older generation who knew pre-Salazar Portugal, includes a broad range of professional men and a large number of government officials and military men who want greater political freedom. Favoring gradual reform rather than revolution, they would like to see a modification of the dictatorship and a general overhaul of the government. On the opposite side is a large number of ultra-conservatives and businessmen who, fearing that Salazar may be losing his grip, would like to see him succeeded by a military strong man who would defend the status quo.

Political experts believe that Portugal's armed forces hold the key to the nation's future. The senior officers are

³ It has been estimated that there are up to 3,000 political prisoners in Portugal.—"Chance to Move With Times," *London Times*, Jan. 3, 1961, p. 9.

still backing Salazar, but there is growing discontent among lower ranking officers over slow promotions, low pay, and ineffective command. The government announced on May 7, 1959, that it had put down a "Communist-inspired" plot to "alter the public order." Although young army officers and liberal Catholics had joined forces two months earlier in an attempt to oust Salazar, pressure from high army and government officials resulted in acquittal of 17 of the 31 men arrested and tried; time already served when the lengthy trial came to an end constituted the jail sentences imposed on the others.

PROBLEM OF A SUCCESSOR TO DICTATOR SALAZAR

The 71-year-old Salazar has prevented open organization of any middle-of-the-road opposition which might form a responsible democratic alternative to his regime. Although the dictatorship is marked by restraint and Salazar has sought no personal aggrandizement, he is suspicious of modern liberalism. He regards the Portuguese as erratic children too inexperienced to guide their own destinies. He is convinced that any attempt to establish a representative government would lead to renewal of the anarchy which prevailed in Portugal before he gained power in 1928. Although Salazar's health is poor, he is not known to have made any provision for a successor. Marcelo Caetano, long considered the dictator's most likely successor, was removed from the political scene some years ago by elevation to the presidency of the University of Lisbon.

Gen. Paulo Bernard Guedes, honorary aide to Dom Duarte Nuno, Duke of Braganza and pretender to the throne of Portugal, declared in a message to the people published in December 1959 that "lack of royal institutions" had posed a difficult test for the country and that only the monarchy could "put an . . . end to the lack of tranquillity." Guedes went on to say that "Only by restoring the institutions that founded Portugal and for so many centuries assured her unity and greatness will she be able to maintain the defense of the common well-being in peace among Portuguese in the four corners of the world." Observers thought this statement, which could not have been published without government assent, represented an attempt by Salazar to seek a successor who could prevent the social disintegration that he feared would

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follow his departure. Until the dictator either resigns or dies, however, there is question whether the opposition is powerful enough to shake his position.

Portugal: Foreign and Domestic Changes

PORTUGAL, long controlled by Spanish overlords or Moorish invaders, emerged as a small independent kingdom under Alfonso I in the middle of the 12th century. Its great role as a maritime and colonial power began in the 15th century. Portuguese occupation of several coastal towns in North Africa opened an outstanding era of discovery under Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), who had gathered the best Portuguese and foreign cosmographers, geographers, astronomers, and navigators in his center for nautical studies.⁴

RISE AND DECLINE OF PORTUGAL AS WORLD POWER

Prince Henry set under way the "miracle of Portugal," which made that small country for a time the greatest trading and colonizing power of the West. Under his leadership, the Madeira and Azores islands were settled and explorers moved farther and farther down the west coast of Africa. Henry died in 1460, but Portuguese discoveries continued. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, Vasco da Gama found the route to India in 1497, Cabral discovered Brazil in 1500. Establishment of trading posts and more extensive settlements ensued. During the first half of the 16th century, Portugal acquired maritime possessions in Brazil, West Africa, East Africa, on the west coast of India, and among islands of the Orient.

A lively trade in spices and other tropical products turned Portugal into Europe's leading commercial nation, but its pre-eminent position as a world power was relatively short-lived. Foolhardy military ventures, loss of population from wars, famine and plague, and growing

⁴Prince Henry was one of four sons of John I of Portugal and the English Princess Philippa of Lancaster. Their marriage fostered ties between Portugal and Great Britain which resulted in conclusion of the Treaty of Windsor in 1386: "For the peace and well-being of the royal family and vassals of the two kingdoms . . . friendship, and perpetual confederation is promised between the two states and each shall provide aid for the other if it is in danger of extinction." Prime Minister Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on Oct. 12, 1943, said "This engagement has lasted now for nearly 600 years and is without parallel in world history."

decadence of the monarchy culminated in sudden collapse. Death in 1580 of the cardinal who had become king two years earlier left the throne vacant. Until 1640, during a period known in Portuguese history as the "Sixty Years' Captivity," the kings of Spain ruled also as kings of Portugal in a sort of personal union between the two countries. The Portuguese monarchy was restored in 1640, but the nation never regained its former high estate.

Nearly two centuries later, during Napoleon's Peninsular campaign, Portugal's royal family fled to Brazil. For 12 years (1807-19) Rio de Janeiro was the capital of the United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil. The monarchy was restored after Napoleon's downfall, but years of political instability followed. Charles I was assassinated in 1908, a revolution compelled Manuel II to abdicate in 1910, and Portugal thereupon became a republic.

The change of government, however, did not alter the economic condition of the country, and financial chaos was reflected in social and political unrest. Anti-clerical measures produced hostility among Roman Catholics; royalists and conservatives were discontented with the republic; and public disorders promoted by young radicals made matters worse. Portugal was shaken by 26 revolutions and coups d'état between October 1910 and May 1926, when a military dictatorship finally took control of the country.⁵

SALAZAR'S DEVELOPMENT OF A CORPORATE STATE

President Oscar de Carmona, leader of the military group, installed Antonio Oliveira de Salazar, then a university professor, as finance minister in 1928. Salazar's assumption of the ministry actually began his tenure as Portuguese dictator. He conditioned his acceptance of the post on a grant of absolute authority over all national expenditures. Salazar, who has held the office of premier since June 28, 1932, regarded dictatorial rule as the way to bring about rational reorganization of the state and to solve its political problems. He said on May 28, 1930, that "Poverty . . . lack of discipline, weak governments . . . were all causes of anarchy in the factories, the public

⁵ Revolts and disorder continued sporadically for a number of years. "Revolts against the dictatorship took place in Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, Guinea, St. Thomas and Prince's Islands, and Angola, all of which were put down by military force, Madeira being blockaded into surrender in 1931. At home there was the usual succession of plots, resulting in a petty military rising in 1928, a small revolt in Lisbon in 1931, a Communist riot in 1934, and a mutiny on two small warships in the Tagus in 1936. In each case the dictator's troops proved easily victorious."—E. L. Hasluck, *Foreign Affairs, 1919-1937* (1938), pp. 126-127.

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services and in the streets." Before the national revolution of 1926, "a regime of insecurity, revolt, strikes and outrages had become established in the country."

After Salazar had straightened out Portugal's chronically unbalanced budgets, he started organizing the "corporative state."⁶ In a corporative state all phases of a given economic activity are placed under the control of a "corporation," comparable to an ancient guild, and the government coordinates the activities of the separate and largely autonomous corporations. For example, a Fruit Junta was established in Portugal to control the production and distribution of fruit. The junta, in theory at least, purchases the whole fruit crop and delivers it directly to retailers, thereby eliminating middlemen. Likewise, the fishing industry is a monopoly controlled by the shipbuilders' guild. Thus the entire national economy, including manufactures, agriculture, credit and insurance, and transport and tourism, is managed by various corporations or cartels which are represented in a Corporative Chamber paralleling the National Assembly.

The state regulates wages, prices and profit margins. It does not intervene directly in the management of private economic undertakings except when it actually finances them or when intervention is necessary to secure a larger measure of social benefit than would otherwise be possible. Strikes are forbidden and formation of a labor union is a criminal offense.

Salazar imposed strict limitations on expressions of opinion which might upset the nation's political or fiscal equilibrium. He has said repeatedly that he does not believe in universal suffrage. His own National Union Party has stifled any opposition. Salazar claims to believe not "in equality but in hierarchy." In an interview with the director general of the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* in April 1959 he said:

The idea that the parliamentary system . . . serves the interests of the nation better than any other system is not well founded. The other idea that thereby the liberty of men is guaranteed is similarly unjustified. . . . The problem is merely how we are going to replace it [parliamentarianism] without falling into the risks of totalitarianism which would make of the state a god and make all men sacrifice to it.

⁶ The present constitution, adopted in 1933, describes the Portuguese state as a unitary and corporative republic.

The Portuguese dictatorship was adamant throughout the 1930s in rejecting what it called the racist base of Hitler's National Socialism, the party base of Fascist Italy, or the class base of the Soviet Union. The dictator has consistently maintained that his National Union Party is not to be confused with the state, nor for that matter is the state to be at the service of the National Union Party.

ACTION STRENGTHENING THE PORTUGUESE ECONOMY

When Salazar took over the finance ministry in 1928, inflation was rampant in Portugal and huge annual deficits had become commonplace. Original estimates for the national budget in 1929 anticipated a surplus equivalent to a few thousand dollars. But general tax reform and a drastic reduction of government spending increased the surplus 200 times over. This extraordinary feat probably did more than anything else to buttress Salazar's position.

The Portuguese currency became one of the soundest in the world, and since liquidation of the public debt in 1935, gold reserves have been accumulated to a present total of \$800 million or the equivalent of two years' imports. The Portuguese economy has been governed by what economists call the classical rules, but Salazar's policies have been attacked as over-cautious, outmoded, and an obstruction to industrial reform. Economists among the assailants say that a bolder financial policy might cause some inflation but would bring the poor the relief they badly need.

The dictator has never been optimistic about the economic potentialities of Portugal. He sees it as a poor agricultural country whose best hope is to achieve a modest degree of well-being. Almost half the population depends on agriculture and 15 per cent on fishing. The country lacks such fundamental industrial raw materials as coal, iron and oil. A 12 per cent annual increase in population is adding to the nation's problems. More than 50,000 Portuguese are forced to compete every year for fewer than 20,000 new job openings. Portugal's annual per capita income of \$240 is the lowest in Europe.

In order to speed up industrialization, Portugal in 1953 launched a six-year plan which concentrated on hydro-electric development. Electric power increased from under a billion kilowatts in 1950 to about three billion kilowatts

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in 1960. The second six-year plan (1959-1964) involves an expenditure of more than \$1 billion, a total which must be related to an ordinary annual budget of less than \$350 million.⁷ The principal purpose of the plan is to improve standards of living and to correct the trade imbalance.

Total Portuguese imports last year were valued at about \$365 million, while exports amounted to only \$215 million. A favorable trade balance with the overseas provinces, however, covered more than one-third of the deficit. Portugal's principal export has been cork, and the United States has been its best customer. Exports from continental Portugal to the United States in 1960 exceeded \$34 million, a 25 per cent increase over 1959.

IMPORTANCE OF PORTUGAL IN THE NATO ALLIANCE

Portugal was an original signatory of the North Atlantic Treaty of April 4, 1949, and has aligned itself consistently with other Western powers, particularly the United States.⁸ The value of Portugal as a NATO ally was thought important enough by the United States last year to risk an affront to those new African states that oppose the Portuguese dictatorship. They were dismayed when President Eisenhower took occasion to visit Lisbon after the break-up of the Paris summit conference in May and to say there that the United States and Portugal had "worked together without a single difference of opinion."

This country and Portugal entered into a defense agreement on Sept. 6, 1951, regarding military facilities in the Azores. Built at a cost of nearly \$200 million, Lages Air Force Base on Terceira Island is regarded as a key to NATO defense operations. The base is 2,000 miles from New York and 1,500 miles from London. It serves now principally as a refueling station for MATS planes, which ferry most of the military personnel and supplies to American installations in Western Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. A supplementary agreement, signed Nov. 15, 1957, extended the life of the defense agreement to Dec. 31, 1962.⁹

⁷ "Transition from Ancient Ways," *London Times*, May 22, 1959, p. 13. Portugal's gross national product, now estimated at around \$2 billion, increased in 1960 by 2.8 per cent and in 1959 by 4.5 per cent.

⁸ Portugal does not recognize the Soviet Union or any other Communist state.

⁹ See "Overseas Bases," *ERR*, 1951 Vol. II, pp. 444 and 446. The United States had a naval air squadron under British command at Lages Field in 1943. Portugal first agreed in November 1944 to construction of an American air base (on Santa Maria Island) in the Azores. That base and its equipment were sold to Portugal in 1946, when U.S. military aircraft were granted transit rights at Lages. Two airfields in Portugal itself have been placed at the disposal of the United States and other NATO members.

Portugal's foreign policy objectives include the furtherance of close political, economic, and military ties with Spain. Lisbon has called repeatedly for inclusion of Spain in NATO. Salazar and Generalissimo Francisco Franco declared in April 1952 that the Iberian peninsula forms a "single strategic bloc" which "implies the adoption of adequate measures to carry out a policy for the defense of both countries."¹⁰ Portugal has been a member of the United Nations since Dec. 14, 1955.

Colonial Policies of the Portuguese

PORTUGAL's African possessions, with a combined area approaching that of Western Europe, make the nation one of the few remaining large colonial empires. Portuguese, though not unmindful of the economic value of the overseas territories, describe their role in Africa as a civilizing mission. Speaking in Lisbon last Nov. 30, Premier Salazar pointed out:

When the Portuguese nation was set up and extended over other continents, . . . it carried with it and sought to impose on the peoples with whom it came into contact concepts very different from those which were later to characterize other forms of colonization. To those peoples which had not yet attained the notion of a homeland it offered one; for those . . . dispersed and mutually unintelligible in their dialects it provided a . . . language. To those which fought one another to the death it guaranteed peace, while the lowest states of indigence were progressively overcome by order itself and by the organization of the economy.

Salazar described the "hasty abandonment of many African territories by Europeans" as "a crime above all against the black man rather than against the white." He denounced the "anarchy of the so-called movements of liberation." However, despite Portugal's efforts to transplant European cultural values to Africa, retention of its colonies there has been threatened by a growing unrest fostered by sweeping nationalist gains in other parts of the continent.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLONIZATION IN AFRICA

Portugal has the longest colonization record of any country with African possessions. James Duffy, foremost American authority on Portuguese Africa, has written that

¹⁰ See "Spain and the Free World," *E.R.R.*, 1959 Vol. II, pp. 597 and 601-606.

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as a general rule Portugal's activities in Angola and Mozambique have gone through three phases:

First came the merchant who traded with the Africans along the coast and gradually penetrated the interior. . . . A trader was seldom able to continue or expand his activities without armed support to protect the centers of commerce. . . . Thus small stockades and even substantial fortresses were constructed and became isolated outposts of Portuguese civilization. . . . The second phase was the military occupation of the colonies, a move which was motivated by the necessity to protect Portuguese Africa against foreign intrusions and to assure its peaceful occupation by white settlers. . . . The third phase is basically a contemporary phenomenon: the creation of stable white population in towns and on farms and the emergence of a noticeable European female population.¹¹

The purpose of Portugal's first expedition to southern Africa in 1490 was entirely peaceful: its objectives were evangelization and alliance rather than military conquest or administrative domination. The Portuguese hoped to convert the native peoples to Christianity as a means of strengthening their economic position in the area. They accepted the tribal chiefs as equals and thus established generally pacific relations which have come to have a special significance for Portugal today.¹² But the program of cooperation and development with a primitive people, while a model of understanding and restraint in the 16th century, was soon marred by the horrors and excesses of a slave trade which was to continue for three centuries.

Entry of white settlers was followed by the emergence of a bi-racial community. David Livingstone, writing about the comparative lack of racial tensions a century ago in Angola, which lies between what is now the Republic of the Congo and South West Africa, said:

It is common . . . to have families by native women. It was particularly gratifying to me . . . to view the liberality with which people of colour were treated by the Portuguese. The coloured clerks of the merchants sit at the same table with their employers without any embarrassment. . . . Nowhere else in Africa is there so much good will between Europeans and natives as here."¹³

A constitution proclaimed in Portugal in 1826 declared the African territories overseas provinces of the mother

¹¹ James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (1959), p. 352. Few women accompanied the early Portuguese white settlers. Many of the pioneers formed family ties with native women. One of Portugal's serious problems was to establish a sufficiently large white population to accomplish the goal of Europeanization.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³ David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels* (1857), pp. 371-372.

country. But the Portuguese for years made no serious effort to develop their colonies. The great Portuguese administrator Mousinho de Albuquerque complained at the turn of the century that all the administrative processes of the provinces "could be summed up as conventions and fictions." He wrote that in a large part of Portugal's vast territories Libson exerted influence only through "powerful chiefs tied to the Portuguese crown by fictitious vassalage." The schools, the missions, and medical care, he protested, were completely inadequate.

POLICIES OF SALAZAR IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

Administrative improvements, development of a new policy toward native populations, and economic expansion dominated colonial thought in the period from 1895 to 1930. Duffy has written that "Until recent years, native policy was only incidental to the administration and exploitation of Angola and Mozambique."¹⁴ He asserted that "The African population in its majority was ignored, enslaved, or conquered depending upon the necessities of the age, and Portuguese actions and attitudes, which in retrospect have been called policy, were based on little more than expediency."

The Salazar government attempted to develop a colonial mystique based on the traditions of the golden age of Portuguese expansion, the realities of the current authoritarian regime, and the promises of the future. Cultural assimilation of the African was presented as the ultimate objective of Portuguese colonial policy. But, up to now, only about 35,000 of the 10 million Africans in Angola and Mozambique have reached the status of "Assimilados."

Any qualified African may attain full Portuguese citizenship if he becomes a Christian, owns sufficient property and has the kind of job that will enable him to live by Western standards, speaks Portuguese fluently, and evidences the moral character necessary for responsible exercise of the rights of a Portuguese citizen. A candidate for citizenship submits his application to the local authorities who, after reviewing the case, decide whether he is "civilized" or "unassimilated" and issue the appropriate identification card.

The unassimilated African is still exploited for Portu-

¹⁴ James Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

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guese profit, in part through a system of contract labor. For example, under a convention between Mozambique and the Union of South Africa, concluded in 1928 and still in force, the Portuguese authorities recruit 100,000 workers a year for South African mines in return for the right to carry a specified share of the railroad traffic moving into South Africa. When a plantation owner in the Portuguese provinces requires labor, he notifies the local commissioner, who orders village chiefs to furnish the men.¹⁵ Contract laborers are said to receive a wage that is no more than sufficient for sustenance.

Although Angola in southwestern Africa and Mozambique in southeastern Africa are still among the least developed areas in the world, they have experienced sharp changes in the past two decades. Colonization schemes, hydroelectric projects, agricultural stations, and mineral survey missions have all given evidence of great expectations. Cereals, coffee, copra, cotton, diamonds, oil, sisal, sugar and tea are now exported from the two territories and help to redress metropolitan Portugal's trade deficit. Loss of the colonies would be economically disastrous for Portugal.

GROWTH OF NATIVE NATIONALIST ACTIVITY IN ANGOLA

Angola with an area of 481,000 square miles is the most extensive though not the most populous of Portugal's overseas territories. It is the oldest of all European settlements in Africa, but it is by no means the most advanced. The territory's economic, social and political backwardness has nourished smoldering resentment among its 4½ million native inhabitants.

Political organization among Angolan Africans began in 1953. Two illegal nationalist groups formed at that time—the Union of Angolan Peoples and the People's Movement for Freedom of Angola—were negotiating a secret coalition in 1956 when some of their leaders were seized and imprisoned. Since then the nationalist revolutionary movements have operated in exile from Leopoldville in the neighboring Congo. Last year four major underground organizations

¹⁵ "If the required number is not forthcoming, police are sent to round them up."
—A. T. Steele, "Forced Labor Is Common for Angola's Natives," *New York Herald Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1948. President Tito of Yugoslavia, addressing the parliament of Ghana at Accra on March 1 of this year, charged that the Portuguese maintained "a system of slavery" in Angola. On the same day the government of Ghana filed with the International Labor Organization at Geneva a request for investigation of alleged forced labor practices in Portugal's African territories.

united to form the Revolutionary African Front for the National Independence of Portuguese Colonies.¹⁸ Two members of the executive board of the American Committee on Africa, Frank Montero and W. X. Scheinman, returning last March from a trip to Angola, said the United States should support the Angolan nationalists "before it is too late." They reported that a million Angolan exiles had taken refuge in the Congo.

During the past two years there have been three mass trials of opponents of Portuguese rule in Angola's capital city of Luanda. The 57 persons tried were charged with "offenses against the external security of the state and the unity of the nation." The defendants in the first trial included 15 Angolan Africans, an American Negro, and a Cuban Negro. The second trial involved seven Portuguese, and the third trial 31 Angolan Africans and an American seaman. Most of the non-Portuguese defendants were tried in absentia and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to 10 years. Attempting to keep Angola insulated against the inroads of African nationalism, Portugal has increased its armed forces there from 20,000 to 40,000 men and has disarmed and sent back to their villages nearly all of its African soldiers.

Violent manifestations of discontent have nevertheless been on the increase. There were reports of bloodshed in March and April and again in August 1959, when Portuguese soldiers fired at a demonstration of white dockworkers demanding higher wages. To avoid the censorship imposed in Luanda, correspondents recently filed dispatches from the Congo and South Africa reporting that bands of armed Negroes and whites had attacked Luanda's police headquarters and civil and military prisons during the night of Feb. 4 in an attempt to free prisoners. Governor General Silva Tavares labeled the attack "Communist inspired" and said that modern Czech weapons had been seized from the Africans. It was reported that about 100 of the 180 persons involved had been arrested, 26 killed, and many others wounded.

CONDITIONS IN OVERSEAS PROVINCE OF MOZAMBIQUE

While Mozambique's cities closely resemble Portuguese cities and the colony's economy shows steady progress, the

¹⁸ "Portugal in Africa," *London Economist*, Feb. 18, 1961, p. 664.

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countryside remains much as it was a century ago.¹⁷ The position of the average native, moreover, is little improved. Social services are almost non-existent, 97 per cent of the people are illiterate, and six months of labor a year at subsistence wages is compulsory for all African male adults. Although the labor conscription makes it hard for the Africans to cultivate their own crops, the prices of such cash crops as are grown are said to be fixed by the government well below world prices to favor Portuguese middlemen.

There are no known opposition political parties in Mozambique. Portugal has not welcomed foreign investments for development of the colony. It apparently fears that the end result might be to fan nationalist unrest. Censorship, border controls, and rigorous police action keep the regime firmly entrenched. Africans educated in Portugal are said to have been prevented from returning home. Others suspected of agitation, including those who have made "unhealthy associations" in the Congo or the Rhodesias, reportedly are jailed, sent to a penal camp or exiled.¹⁸

On the other hand, it has been reported that the "arrogant assurance of local Portuguese officials has diminished with the spread of nationalist propaganda from British-ruled territories to the north." James Skinner, New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent, questioning a Mozambique official on a report that 30 Africans had been shot in a recent riot, was told: "When we have a riot there are never fewer than 200 killed." As many as 500 Africans were said to have died in a riot at Port Amelia, Mozambique, last year.¹⁹

It has been reported that Portuguese authorities, striving to head off world criticism and to redress legitimate grievances, have stopped banishing "undesirables" to the island of Sao Tome in the Gulf of Guinea; have eased native passbook and travel regulations; and have modified a rigidly enforced curfew for Africans living in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique. They are said also to be raising wages and to be accelerating the "assimilado" program by gradually expanding educational opportunities. The number of Mozambique Africans who have been assimilated has quad-

¹⁷ Mozambique has an area of 298,000 square miles. Its population of six million is the largest in Portugal's overseas territories.

¹⁸ James Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

¹⁹ James Skinner, "Portuguese Rule Is Harsh in Mozambique," New York *Herald Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1961.

rupted within the past decade, rising from 5,000 to 20,000. Even so, only one-third of 1 per cent of the Africans in that territory have been accorded the full rights and responsibilities of Portuguese citizenship.²⁰

GOAN QUESTION: UNITED NATIONS AND THE COLONIES

Portugal's enclaves in India—Goa, Damao, Diu—are situated on the west coast of the subcontinent. Goa has been in Portuguese hands for 450 years. The districts, which have a combined population of little more than 650,000 and an area of only 1,537 square miles, are of no economic importance but have been a center of controversy since shortly after World War II.

Before India became independent in 1947, Nehru, then leader of the Congress Party, felt sure that the enclaves would fall into Indian hands almost automatically "once British power disappears from India." When Portugal hung on, New Delhi applied economic restrictions which were made increasingly severe. Matters approached a climax in August 1954 when India not only blocked all Goan exports and imports but also cut communications with Damao and Diu. Diplomatic relations with Portugal were severed a year later when 13 members of a crowd of demonstrators entering the enclave were killed by Portuguese police. Nehru declared on Sept. 8, 1955, that India could "not tolerate the presence of a colonial power" and would "not tolerate the Portuguese even if the Goans want to keep them."

India so far has refrained from direct action, but the Portuguese are fully aware that India could take possession of Goa in a few hours if it once decided to do so. Portugal's other remaining Far Eastern possessions—a six-square-mile area on the island of Macao off the South China coast, and Portuguese Timor in the Malay Archipelago—are equally indefensible from a military standpoint.

Critics of Portugal's colonial policies have suggested that Angola and Mozambique, and perhaps other of the overseas territories, be placed under United Nations trusteeship. Funds from international sources might then be made available for education and economic development. Portugal might have much to gain and little to lose from such

²⁰ Joseph L. Sterne, "Portuguese Rule Eased in Mozambique," *Baltimore Sun*, May 19, 1960, p. 6.

Portuguese Dictatorship

an arrangement if, as is likely, it was designated the administering authority of the trust territories. However, there is little prospect that Lisbon would consent to such an arrangement.

Portugal has resisted all attempts by the United Nations to inquire into its colonial policies in Africa, the Far East or elsewhere. In fact, its spokesmen adhere rigidly to the position that the overseas territories are provinces of Portugal, not colonies, and that other countries have no right to interfere. The question has come up in light of a provision of the U.N. Charter obligating member nations administering "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" to furnish information regularly to the Secretary General on economic, social and educational conditions in the territories. A Portuguese spokesman asserted before the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee last Nov. 4, that, because the Charter contained no definition of a non-self-governing territory, each nation was entitled to make its own definition.

A resolution adopted by the General Assembly on Dec. 15 by a vote of 68 to 6²¹ declared that "an obligation exists on the part of the government of Portugal to transmit information" on that country's non-self-governing overseas territories. The resolution stated also that "The desire for independence is the rightful aspiration of peoples under colonial subjugation and that the denial of their right to self-determination constitutes a threat to the well-being of humanity and to international peace." Portugal made no response to the Assembly's request that the information sought be furnished "without further delay." Portuguese resistance to consideration by international bodies of what it regards as strictly internal matters probably will be evidenced again when the Security Council takes up on March 10 the Liberian request for action to protect human rights in Angola.

²¹ Seventeen countries, including the United States, abstained from voting on the resolution. Sen. Wayne Morse (D Ore.), a member of the U.S. delegation, said in a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 13 that it was to be hoped that at the next General Assembly session the "United States delegation will not be instructed again to abstain on the Portugal colonial issue and thereby seem to support the legal fiction advanced by Portugal that she has no [colonial] territories."



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